•The Progressive Review

Nbr 296 March 1991

Collateral Damage

What we've lost already

Operation Budget Shield: America has been suckered into a war to make the world safe for huge defense budgets. While oil has played a role, it appears to have been more of an excuse than a fundamental cause. At its heart, this war is really a jihad by the defense industry for continued control of the US Treasury.

America's military-industrial complex was the one clear loser with the end of the Cold War. Neither Grenada nor Panama were convincing enough demonstrations of the need for a massive military in the face of growing talk of a peace dividend and economic conversion. A major world crisis could save the defense budget for years to come, especially if it could be demonstrated that the runaway costs of the defense establishment had produced weapons that actually worked.

Sen. Arlen Specter recently expressed a conventional congressional view: "When the time has come for the necessity to project strength, we have done it in a phenomenal and historic way." Added Sen. Stephen Symms: "It restores a lot of credibility from all the doubters who said that all this money has been wasted." And Symms added that the benefit would not merely accrue to conventional weapons systems: "I think the one program that will receive a tremendous boost from this will be SDI," a prediction confirmed a few days later by George Bush's annual address and atypical nods to Star Wars by liberal legislators.

Ironically, the proximate cause of this new enthusiasm for SDI was the success of the Patriot missile against SCUD missiles, the latter an idea some quarter of a century past its time. Unnoted by either politicians or press was the fact that the Patriot was actually developed *prior* to Star Wars.

> With a little more wisdom this war might not have been necessary... I wonder if, in a certain sense, we haven't all been made fools of, if they haven't drawn us into a much larger game. -- *Rear Admiral Mario Buracchia, commander of Italy's warships in the Gulf*

There are other aspects of what has become the world's most expensive test marketing program that have received far less attention than they should. Consider, for example:

- Different types of fighter planes are carrying out essentially the same mission. The major difference is that the some are several times more expensive than others.
- Aircraft that Congress bought because of their all-weather capability are being kept on the ground in bad weather.
- The B-1 bombers -- $27 billion worth -- aren't in the Gulf at all even though they were first put in service in 1986. The entire fleet of these planes was grounded for an entire month recently because of a series of problems such as engine failure, including an explosion that caused an engine to drop off a plane during a training flight. The B-1, revived by Ronald Reagan with nationalistic fervor after the project had been scrapped by Jimmy Carter, was designed to carry nuclear bombs. So far it has been certified to carry only one type of conventional bomb. Meanwhile, as $27 billion of weaponry sits idle, the Air Force carries out its bombing missions with B-52s, first commissioned in the 1950s.

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■ Many weapons systems -- such as the Patriot -- may work but are vastly overbuilt for the job they are carrying out and untried for the job for which they were designed.

■ Other weapons systems have yet to be tested in battle, or could have been purchased at far less cost from allied countries, or are lacking adequate support equipment such as the M-1 tank that gets about 8-9 gallons to the mile and whose supply trucks are too few in number and inadequately armored.

■ The war, like a great Indian potlatch ceremony, is wasting our military wealth at a staggering rate. When it's all over, the lobbyists will be back arguing for replacing weapons systems that didn't work, improving (at enormous expense) those that did and inventing new ones for the next military escapade.

Little of this is getting through to the public given a military censorship that is extending even to previously released weapons performance data and a disinterest in much of the media in anything other than the wonders of the Patriot.

The cost of this military trade fair will not be limited to the billions actually expended in the war. It will include the expense of extravagant military budgets for many years to come. The costs will be covered not only by new taxes but by a long-term strangulation of badly needed domestic programs of every variety. Massive expenditures on weapons systems will also further America's economic decline. Economics writer Robert Kuttner points out that since the 70s, when this country went heavily into high tech weaponry, our share of the global consumer electronics market has dropped from 70% to 5%.

There will be little resistance to this budgetary scam by members of Congress. Not only will the war be used for continuing justification of large defense budgets, but military expenditures will, as in the past, be carefully and cleverly disbursed to make Congress hostage to the whim of the Pentagon and its kill-PACs. For example, only nine states in 1989 received less than one million dollars in expenditures for portions of the B-2 bomber program. Three of our largest states -- New York, California and Texas -- received over $1 billion each. Few politicians can push themselves away from that much of pork.

Casualties: In the first month of fighting:

■ 2500 American citizens died -- of AIDS

■ 2100 American babies died in their first month of life.

■ 810 American children died because of poverty.

■ 150 American teenagers committed suicide.

■ 270 American children died of gunshot wounds.

■ About 650,000 children worldwide died of malnutrition or ill health.

These deaths would, of course, have occurred whether or not there was a war, but the cost of the war insures that they will continue to occur without the benefit of round-the-clock media coverage, multibillion dollar budgets, the callup of any reserves to do something about it.

Meanwhile, as of February 6, only three dozen Americans have been reported killed or missing in action. No firm figures have been released for casualties of ordinary human beings. As the Washington Times noted recently, "the Gulf conflict is becoming the country's first 'clean war' in

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Bucking the System Since 1966

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which a discussion of killing is taboo." In the first two weeks of the war there were more than 30 press briefings at the Pentagon and the US Central Command without an official estimate of how many Iraqi military, let alone civilians, had been killed. No one yet knows not only how many civilians have been killed as direct result of "surgical strikes" but how many will die as a result of damage to such human lifelines as water supplies and power stations. A study of wars in the 1950s, however, found that 52% of the casualties were civilians. By the 1980s the proportion of civilian casualties had increased to 85%.

Estimates of casualties in the Kuwaiti invasion itself vary from Amnesty International's figure of hundreds to the 7000 casualties claimed by Kuwaiti nationals. By comparison, civilian casualties in America's invasion of Panama vary from 200 (the Army's figure) to independent estimates of approximately 4000. Of course, Panama occurred a whole year ago and the UN General Assembly's resolution denouncing America's "flagrant violation of international law" didn't carry the same weight as UN opinions these days.

The environment: One of the most costly aspects of the war will never be fully accounted for. To give you some idea, however, during the Iran-Iraq war one oil spill resulted in the destruction of 15% of the Persian gulf shrimp industry. The spill in January was at least six times larger.

The chief of Jordan's council on science and technology estimates that oil-well fires could increase the emissions of carbon dioxide by 5%, causing the region's weather to become cooler and more rainy. There is the potential of affecting the Indian monsoons, which could cause a disaster for hundreds of millions of people. It is not inconceivable that the climate of the whole world could be affected.

On the more mundane level, we are systematically destroying two countries in the name of freedom. As aviation historian Richard Pipe put it: "We're going to crater the place. We're gong to make it look like a giant moonscape."

And the damage is not just being done abroad. At the end of January the government announced that it would waive legal requirements for assessments on the effect that Pentagon projects have on the environment. This could not only quell questions of pollution from military installations but greatly ease military acquisition of new bombing and test sites strongly opposed by environmentalists. As Gary Cohen, director of the National Toxic Campaign Fund, points out: "The Pentagon and its contractors are already the most pervasive and protected polluters in the nation."

War Time Line

The time line below shows the approximate dates on which the cost of the war will equal the entire costs of each listed item in the president's budget. War costs are based on the highly conservative figure of a half billion dollatrs a day.

Jan 24: Energy
Jan 28: Community development
Feb 16: Agriculture
Feb 21: Foreign aid & international
Feb 22: Science & space
Feb 25: Environment & resources
Mar 6: Transportation

Apr 18: Education & jobs

Jun 27: Health

Jul 19: Housing & commerce

Aug 29: Medicare

At this point we are uncertain whether we are facing an ecological holocaust or merely an environmental disaster. In either case, the environment is already one of the biggest losers of the war.

And, of course, the war has distracted our attention from other matters of more long-range consequence than the restoration of the Emir of Kuwait. For example, in the first month of fighting approximately one and a half million acres of rainforests were destroyed. Nobody had time to notice.

Other aggression: While we do not know exactly what payoffs the Bush administration made to various countries to obtain their cooperation in the war against Iraq, it is clear that two of the main beneficiaries were Syria and the Soviet Union. The former obtained a whole country, Lebanon, in return for its support and the Soviets got at least an implicit green light for repressing the emerging

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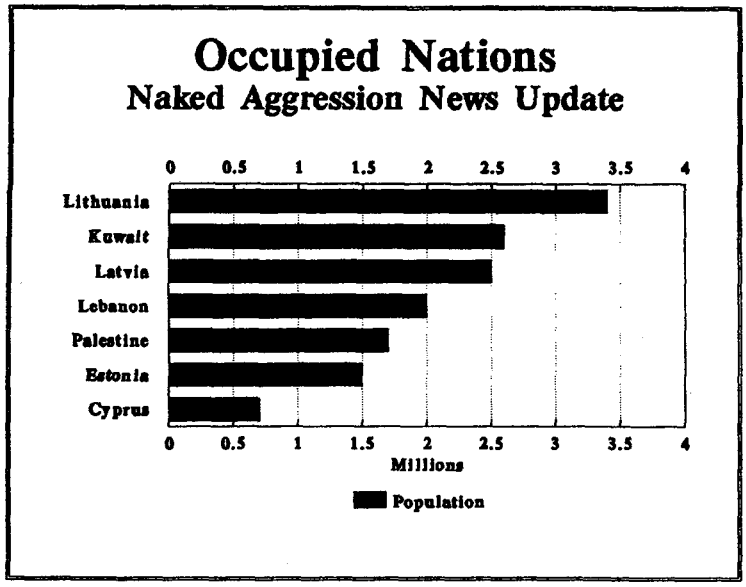

Baltic republics. Further, the Israelis have intensified their apartheid, using the cover of the war to get away with putting over a million and a half Palestinians under house arrest. At this point, we are losing the battle for national independence by at least a five to one margin.

The corporate state: In recent years, America has been sliding dangerously close to the sort of corporatism practiced by Nazi Germany and Mussolini's Italy, in which the economy is controlled by an oligopoly in cooperation with the state. This is almost inevitable in a country with so much of its production devoted to the military. The war is both an symbol and a subsidy of the defense industry's continued dominance of the economy.

Under both the Reagan and Bush administrations, complimentary policies have been pressed including relaxation of anti-trust enforcement and deregulation. An example is the airline industry where deregulation's early consumer gains, such as increased routes and lower fares, are disappearing as carriers are merged or driven out of business. Even more dramatic is the current effort to deregulate banking, which -- if successful -- would create a financial oligopoly to match the industrial one. The war provides both an excuse and concealment for such activities.

Constitutional government: War inevitably transfers domestic authority from democratic institutions to the military and from legislative bodies to the executive. Once this authority has been transferred, it is hard to restore it to its proper place. One high law enforcement official has already been quoted as saying that security procedures instituted for the war will remain in place long after it is over.

This is not a trifling matter. The last three administrations have developed chilling plans for establishing martial law in the US during an ill-defined "national emergency." With the exception of a few journals, like the Philadelphia Inquirer and the Miami Herald, most of the media has paid little attention to this. Even during the allegedly thorough Iran-Contra hearings, the moment the veil on these plans was lifted, committee chair Daniel Inouye rushed to push it back:

Rep. Brooks: Colonel North, in your work at the NSC, were you not assigned, at one time, to work on plans for the continuity of government in the event of a major disaster?

Brendan Sullivan [North's counsel]: Mr. Chairman?

Sen. Inouye: I believe that question touched upon a highly sensitive and classified area so may I request that you not touch on that.

Rep. Brooks: I was particularly concerned, Mr. Chairman, because I read in Miami papers, and several others, that there had been a plan developed, by that same agency, a contingency plan in the event of emergency, that would suspend the American Constitution. And I was deeply concerned about it and wondered if that was the area in which he had worked. I believe that it was and I wanted to get his confirmation.

Sen. Inouye: May I most respectfully request that matter not be touched upon at this stage. If we wish to get into this, I'm certain arrangement can be made for an executive session.

From what is publicly known, there **are** plans to effectively suspend the Constitution under circumstances that are exceedingly vague but could easily develop in a situation like the Gulf crisis, especially if guerilla actions occur in this country. Despite Sen. Inouye's remarkable contention, there

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is no matter that is more properly the concern of the American citizenry.

Sanctions: Unnoticed in all the rhetoric and analysis of the Gulf war is the fact that economic sanctions against Iraq are still in place. We will never know whether sanctions alone would have worked not because we tried war instead, but because we tried war *in addition.*

The war, in fact, would be immensely more difficult were Iraq able to be resupplied as the Chinese resupplied the North Koreans. Iraq is surrounded by countries at least partially involved in the embargo and -- unlike many earlier attempts at sanctions -- virtually all of Iraq's trade and financial relations are subject to sanctions.

Even if Iraq leaves Kuwait, we will unlikely be able to determine whether it left for military or economic reasons, although the credit will inevitably be given to the military.

To see that this is more than a talking point, consider this summary from Time magazine of the effects of sanctions as of Jan. 15:

- Iraq will run out of foreign-currency reserves by spring.
- The embargo has cost Iraq 50% of its GNP.
- Bread, sugar and soap are rationed
- Imports have been reduced by more than 90%.
- Per capita food consumption down from 3100 calories a day to 1800 per day.
- The country's military effectiveness will begin to decline in six to 12 months.

Civil liberties: Since this war is being fought in the name of freedom, it is worth noting what has happened to domestic freedom in recent weeks:

- The Justice Department is considering registering, photographing and fingerprinting Iraqis in this country.
- The FBI has conducted numerous sorties on Arab-Americans to suggest they cooperate with the agency's anti-guerilla activities. The Arab-Americans involved have naturally regarded this as insulting and a considerable intrusion on their freedom.
- In order to visit your elected representative on Capitol Hill you must not only submit to x-ray scanners but have one's coat searched by police. There is serious consideration being given to placing a fence around the Capitol to further limit access to elected officials.
- The freedom to travel, as perceived by Americans, has declined markedly with a drastic

On Patriotism

The Washington Post's David Broder, like many Americans, seems to believe that support for war is the sine qua non of patriotism. Thus he wrote recently of a hawkish recruit: "Skagg's old-fashion patriotism," and later referred to the "patriotic impulse... enhanced by the upbeat tone of the first Pentagon news briefing." Since such is the thinking of the times, we offer the following to those whose love of their country may increasingly come under attack:

In time of war the loudest patriots are the greatest profiteers. -- August Babel, 1870

I would give something to know for whose sake precisely those deeds were really done which report says were done for the fatherland. -- G.C. Lichtenberg, 1799

You'll never have a quiet world until you knock the patriotism out of it. -- George B. Shaw

Patriotism is the virtue of the vicious. -- Oscar Wilde

The people can always be brought to the bidding of the leaders... All you have to do is to tell them they are being attacked and denounce the pacifists for lack of patriotism. -- Hermann Goering.

To me it seems a dreadful indignity to have a soul controlled by geography. -- George Santayanna

Patriotism is the willingness to kill and be killed for trivial reasons. -- Bertrand Russell

Patriotism is the conviction that this country is superior to all other countries because you were born in it. -- George B. Shaw

Patriotism is often an arbitrary veneration of real estate above principles. -- George Nathan

The reluctant obedience of distant provinces generally costs more than it is worth. -- Macaulay

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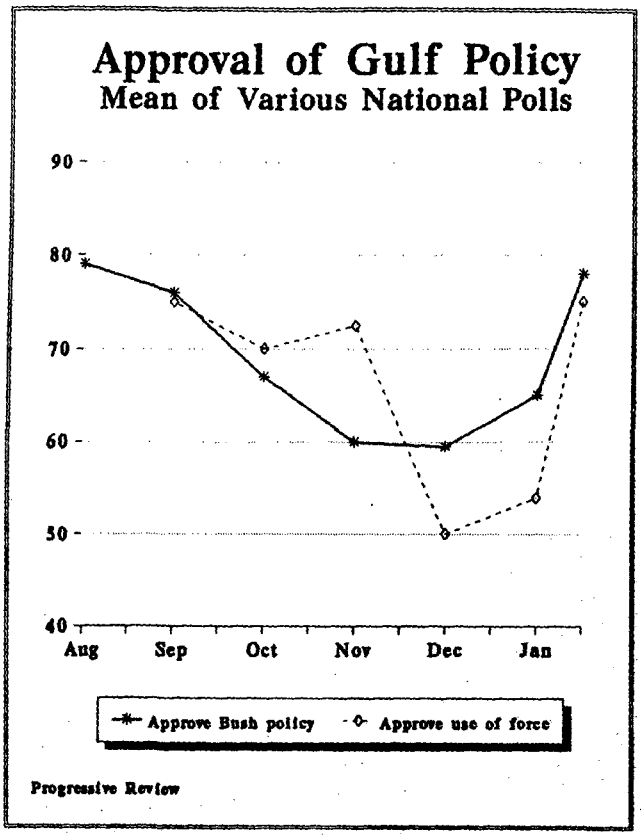

reduction in international air travel. At one college in England, American students are being advised to stay away from the Hard Rock Cafe, Mcdonald's and American Express as they are considered prime targets for attacks.

■ In order for the President to safely deliver his annual address, a four square block cordon sanitaire was established in around the US Capitol.

■ The American press is currently under the most severe censorship since World War II.

■ Waiting in the wings is a plan drawn up for then vice-president George Bush in 1986 for the roundup and deportation of "suspected terrorists." According to the Washington Times: "It reportedly has been discarded but could be reinstated by a presidential declaration. The plan called for up to 1000 suspected terrorists to be held at a US Bureau of Prisons detention center at Oakdale, La., and up to 5000 in tents at other locations in southern states." The Japanese Americans incarcerated during World War II were there because they, too, were considered suspected terrorists.

The budget: Only a few months ago, the future of the Republic was said to hinge on an agreement between Congress and the White House to reduce the deficit. Forget it. Today a report from the Congressional Budget Office that this year's deficit will be a record-breaking and mind-boggling $298 billion only rates a few inches in the New Media Order.

Culture: Despite American protestations that they're being careful, there are some initial indications that priceless cultural and religious sites are being damaged and destroyed. In a letter to US News & World Report, Carra Ferguson O'Meara, a Georgetown University fine arts professor, notes that Iraq was home of "humanity's first cities and earliest temples... Its most ancient sites... are close to the frontier near Kuwait... Many of the most precious objects are in the museum at Baghdad, perilously near the Iraqi defense ministry... We must ask ourselves whether we have the right to jeopardize the survival of this irreplaceable cultural and historical legacy that is of importance not only to Iraq but to all mankind."

Integrity: George Bush speaks of the war on Iraq with all the integrity of Marion Barry speaking of the war on drugs. Pentagon officials deny civilian targeting and then, when the photos are shown, explain it away with vague claims of proximity to military sites. The media accedes to extraordinary censorship without a decent fight. Liberal members of Congress who voted for continued sanctions struggle to publicly suppress any doubts they may have about this madness in a pointless implicit apology for having done the right thing.

The integrity of language is taking a solid beating as well, led by a Pentagon where soldiers are no longer killed --only "KIA." And the public is has found refuge in circular thinking, proclaiming support for "our troops," as though this support was somehow divisible from support from what "our troops" are doing. This often well-intentioned effort to avoid the sort of crummy treatment Vietnam vets received, is being heavily used by the American right and the media to develop a false image of American unity not only behind the troops but behind the war they are fighting.

To be sure, many of those in the Gulf are there because, sadly, the military offered them the single best hope for economic survival. But easily manipulated expressions of "support" can do them little service. Jesse Jackson put it in the right context when he said, "We need to support our troops when they are not troops. We can not just love them when they are abroad; we must love them at home." And we must support our troops by keeping them alive, not dead, wounded or tortured. By bringing them home.

Refugees: When the battle erupted in Khafji, American media gave intense coverage to the story. But you had to listen long and hard to learn that the first battle of Khafji was already over: when the war started, the 50,000 resident of the town had to leave -- silent, unnoticed casualties of the New

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World Order. No one knows the final refugee total, but experts expect at least one to two million people to be displaced by the war.

The Middle East: The Middle East is being disrupted, disarranged, and destroyed by this conflict. It will take years to straighten out the mess. Jimmy Carter estimates 30 years; former JCS chief Admiral William Crowe says 40 years, "whether we like it or not." The contour of post-war developments is speculative at this point, but here is one scenario offered last November by Middle East commentator and anthropologist William Beeman:

Even if the conflict drags on for years, Iran will be seen by the people of the region as the one nation that did not capitulate to the United States, thus retaining its integrity. Its military forces remain strong and its economic prospects are equally bright. In the light of the Saudi Arabian acquiescence to US military occupation, and Iraq's likely weakness in the future, Iran will stand alone as the dominant regional power. Saudi Arabia under its current monarchy will never again regain the influence it has had in the past among Arab nations. Nor will it retain its influence in OPEC. It will always be suspected of representing American interests. With Iraq weakened or dismantled, Iran will thus become the principal spokesman for Middle East oil interests.

To reap these benefits, Iran need only sit back and wait... The more thorough the US route of Saddam Hussein, the greater long-term rewards for Iran. This must be deliciously ironic for Iranian leaders who, having been labeled by Washington as fanatic outlaws, are now rewarded by every move the United States makes.

America's reputation: The disproportionate response to Iraq's annexation of Kuwait is sure to rank as one of the history's great acts of military brutality. It is likely, in fact, that the main purpose of the excessive military censorship is not to hide US failure but its wanton, destructive success. America will pay for this power-drunk rampage, in big ways and small, for years to come.

In sum, the war in its first weeks has caused extraordinary damage to world peace, the earth's ecosystem, the freedom of various peoples deemed of less importance than those of Kuwait, the freedom and rights of American citizens, national integrity and simple human dignity.

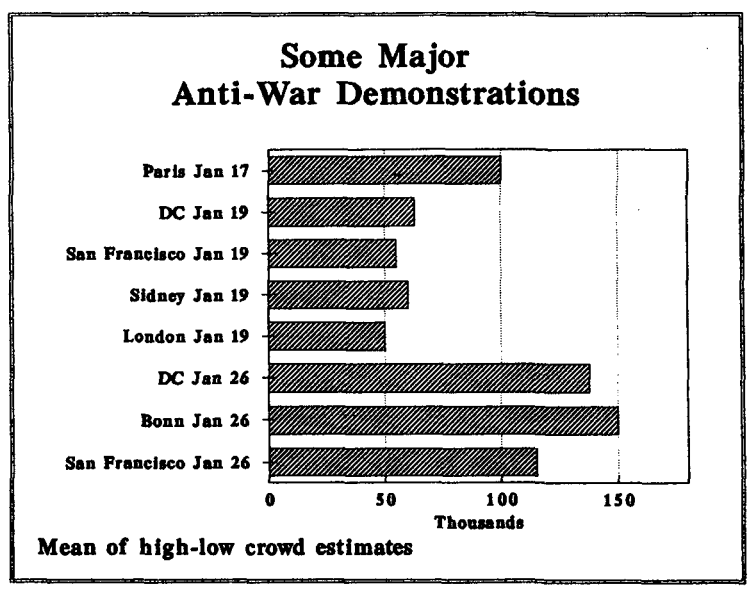
The irony is, of course, that the war is being fought in the name of the very values that are being sacrificed to the cause of military victory. The Bush administration is killing to save lives, endangering oil to save oil, lying to defend truth, suppressing to protect freedom, encouraging an ecological holocaust to save the earth.

A year ago a remarkable world revolution was underway. Most of the world's inhabitants had lived their entire lives in a world dominated by either the fear or reality of war. Now for the first time one could foresee a world at peace.

When Soviet tanks rolled across the hopes of Hungary, it took decades for that country to recover. Now the tanks and planes of American empire are rolling across the hopes of the world and we must begin all over again to make peace a habit rather than a dream.

This then is George Bush's greatest sin: He killed world peace while it was still an infant.

-- Sam Smith



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The Weather Report

Operation Budget Shield

War is not a success -- it is absolute failure on the part of politicians... We should not participate in Saddam Hussein's madness. We do not respond to madness with madness -- *Audrey McLaughly, leader of Canada's New Democrats.*

You may recall that one of the arguments used by the White House to get support for its sanction-slashing resolution was that a vote against continued sanctions was not a vote for war, but merely to strengthen Bush's political hand in dealing with the Iraqis. What those debating the matter in Congress didn't know was that the 1992 budget had already gone to the printer complete with reference to "the full net cost of Desert Shield (which includes Desert Storm)..." As they said in Watergate, follow the money.

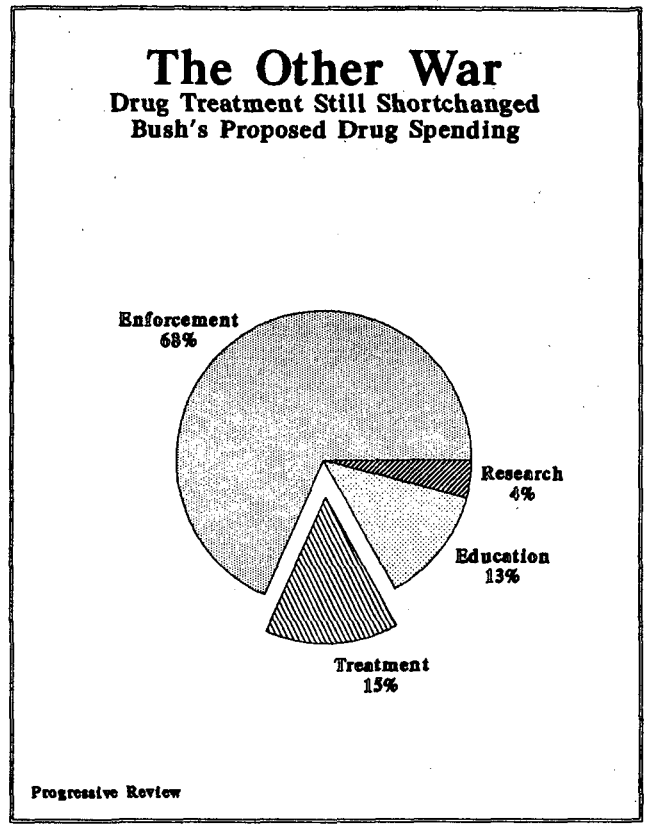
If you are depressed about the willingness of the American public to believe in Bush's war, consider this: US News & World Report says that polls indicate that 20% of US adults think the sun goes around the earth and 45% think dinosaurs and humans lived at the same time.

Who bothers about technicalities at a time like this, but you might be interested to know that the sainted UN Security Council resolution on Kuwait may have been a tad improper. Turns out Article 27 of the UN Charter says that such decisions require an *affirmative* vote "of seven members including the concurring votes of the permanent members." Permanent member China abstained on the vote.

One of the many ironies of Bush's war is his use of the phrase, "new world order." While it's true that Woodrow Wilson used the phrase in a speech, it is most often associated with Adolph Hitler (the original one) who liked to speak of a "new order." Japanese premier Prince Konoye copped the phrase in 1938 in proposing a "new order in East Asia." You just can't keep a good idea down.

Drug Busts

A Minnesota judge has ruled that the state's anti-crack law discriminates against blacks. The judge noted that the law punishes crack users more harshly than those taking powdered cocaine. As Dr. Roy Pickens of the National Institute of Drug Abuse pointed out to the New York Times, there is no evidence to suggest that the properties of crack are more inherently addictive than those of cocaine powder, nor that crack addiction is harder to break.



Martinsville, Virginia, mayor Allan McClain has joined those calling for the legalization of marijuana and possibly cocaine. Martinsville is one of Virginia's most conservative communities. Even more interesting was the reaction to McClain's action. The local police chief wouldn't comment on the proposal but did say that his force would have a lot more time to devote to other things if they weren't chasing pot and cocaine users. The chief regional drug prosecutor in Roanoke, Jeff Rudd, praised McClain for "having the courage to acknowledge that another solution to the problem is one that should be considered. And the newly appointed chief of the governor's drug council said the idea was not "wild-eyed."

Support for marijuana decriminalization has come from California's research advisory panel, a group of professionals which advises the governor on drug use and abuse. The group favored permitting private cultivation and use of marijuana as well as removal of penalties for possession of needles and syringes.

Old News

Little noted by the media, the administration's erstwhile guardians of freedom -- the US-installed government in Panama -- took a recent shellacking at

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the polls, with opposition parties taking five of the nine congressional seats up for grabs.

The US-backed conflict in El Salvador has cost more than 75,000 lives.

Moving right along with our survey of American foreign policy triumphs, the New York Times reported in January that "Despite expectations of a quick economic turnabout... the Nicaraguan economy has not recovered and is now deteriorating amid large deficits and continued high military spending, economists and diplomats say."

The KAL 007 controversy is heating up again, with a long series in Izvestia and a letter from four US senators seeking information from Gorbachev. Seven years after the incident, the truth about the crash seems as elusive as ever. Some investigators are concerned that the Soviets will finally take a fall on this one, issue an apology, and with both the US and the Soviets hewing to the same line, the story will die. It will become harder to get answers to such outstanding questions as:

- How many planes were involved in the incident? The Soviet pilot who shot down a plane that night still does not believe it had any passengers aboard. The pilot, now retired, says "I am a proponent of the old version: this was a spy plane." Two years ago he told Armed Forces Journal that he was "convinced it was a reconnaissance plane, an RC-130 or RC-135 [which have much the same profile as a 747]."
- If the darkened plane that pilot shot down was indeed a spy plane, what happened to KAL 007?
- What about transmissions believed to have come from KAL 007 *after* it was supposed to have been shot down?
- What was the source of plane wreckage found miles from the alleged site of the incident?

This is an immensely complicated story, so stay tuned.

The Mediacracy

> We live in a dirty and dangerous world. There are some things the general public does not need to know and shouldn't. I believe democracy flourishes when the government can take legitimate steps to keep its secrets and when the press can decide to print what it knows -- *Washington Post chair Katharine Graham, quoted in Regardies magazine, January 1990.*

A new FAIR survey shows that nightly network news programs largely ignored public efforts to oppose the Bush administration's military policies in the Persian Gulf.

FAIR examined five months of TV coverage of the Gulf crisis, from Aug 8 to Jan. 3. Of a total 2855 minutes devoted to the Gulf crisis-- nearly two full days of coverage--only 29 minutes, roughly one percent, dealt with popular opposition to the U.S. military build-up in the Gulf. FAIR executive director Jeff Cohen commented, "Now that a war is actually starting, the networks are finally noticing the anti-war movement, but the coverage is often no more than a blur of street action -- from mass marches to the flag-burnings of the fringe."

Cohen continued: "Polls show the public supported a Mideast peace conference or a compromise of the Iraq/Kuwait border dispute as ways of resolving the crisis -- positions not featured on TV networks fixated on official Washington."

None of the foreign policy experts associated with the peace movement -- such as Edward Said, Noam Chomsky or the scholars at the Institute for Policy Studies -- appeared on any nightly network news program during the period scrutinized. While stories on Jesse Jackson's trip to Iraq were counted as anti-war coverage, none of these stories included any quotes from Jackson.

The survey found that ABC devoted 7 minutes (.7 percent of its total Gulf coverage) and CBS devoted 8.3 minutes (.8 percent) to public opposition to the Gulf policy. NBC's 13.3 minutes of coverage amounted to 1.5 percent of total Gulf coverage.

The administration has not only established air supremacy in this war, but as James Ledbetter points out in the Village Voice, airwaves supremacy as well. In the Feb. 5 issue, Ledbetter gives some good examples of media manipulation including the cancellation of NBC's uplink by Israel after correspondent Martin Fletcher included some unapproved casualty figures for a SCUD attack. It took an on-air apology by Tom Brokaw and a humble letter to the Israeli ministry of information by Fletcher to get the uplink restored. In another instance, reporter Frank Bruni described returning Stealth pilots as "giddy." The US military censor changed it to "proud" and after discussion compromised on "pumped up." Also: a report that pilots aboard the USS Kennedy were watching porn movies before bombing missions was canned.

Ledbetter says Malcolm Browne, war correspondent of the New York Times, has likened the press's role in this war to that of the Nazi Propaganda Kompanic: "I've never seen anything that can compare to it, in the degree of surveillance and control the military has over the correspondents."

Meanwhile, we hear reports of reactivation of CIA efforts to co-opt journalists, including an approach being under consideration by a major network.

Dan Quayle discussing immigration at an Ellis Island ceremony: "But then, everybody had to come from somewhere."

FIELD NOTES

Nuclear power & clean energy conference: To be held by a coalition of environmental groups in Washington April 26-28. Sponsors include the Nuclear Information and Resource Service, Greenpeace and the Safe Energy Communication Council. *[NIRS, 1424 16th NW #601, DC 20036. 202-328-0002]*

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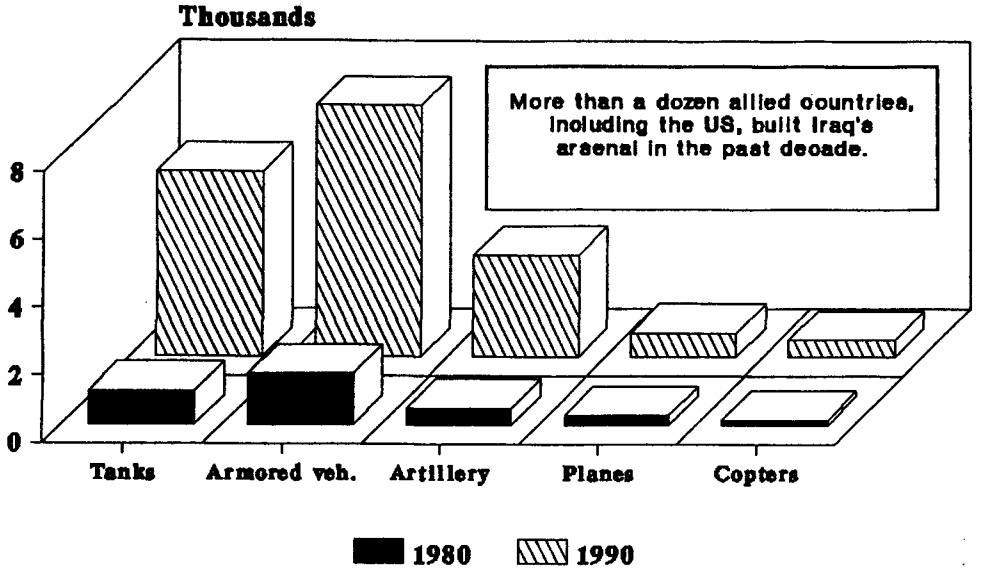
Iraq's Military Buildup
During the Reagan-Bush Years



Source: Village Voice

Road Signs

An annual poll of college freshmen finds decreased interest in business careers and more concern for the environment and race relations. Thirty-nine percent said they took part in demonstrations during their last year in high school, a record unmatched even during the sixties when only about 15% protested anything. Says Alexander Astin of the UCLA's School of Education: "These trends show that there is a rapidly expanding number of American college students who are dissatisfied with the status quo."

The Sentencing Project reports that the US now locks up a larger portion of its citizens than even South Africa or the Soviet Union. The incarceration rate for the US is now 426 per 100,000, compared to 333 in South Africa and 268 in the Soviet Union.

Classified Information

Senator Pat Moynihan has introduced legislation that would dismantle the CIA and move its functions to the State Department.

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